1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

257 of *Dracaena*, producing a fine brown color. Cloth so colored was used for turbans (*i sala*).

531 Patterns, consisting of conventional leaves, stars, and so forth, are sometimes scattered on fine white bark cloth, *masi tutuki*. The tapa is stencilled with patterns placed so close as to make the whole appear as a white on black design—the large patterns are called "flower prints" (*i tutuki se ni kaihu*), the small ones, or reed prints (*i ngasangasau*). Tapa thus decorated is used for turbans or hung on the wall-plate; some of it also is smoked.

531 386 Some is painted with a liquid obtained from the reddish bark of the *tea* and the root of the *ngandoa;* the two may be mixed together. The mangrove root, which is darker, is used in the Southern Islands. The men bring in the wood, which the women scrape with shells (*kai ndina; kuku*) or bits of tin, then shred it, saturate it with water, and stuff it into a long sack made of matting of strips of *vau;* as they fill the sack they wind coir string round it. At both ends of the sack is a rude rope of *vau*; by means of these one end is hung on a tree, and a stick is passed through a loop at the other end; a woman takes hold of each end of the stick and the two walk round and round, twisting the sack and squeezing out the red juice.

For stencils the dye is boiled until it becomes gluey and very dark brown; it is then mixed with lamp-black and a red earth (*umea*), probably ocher. The lamp black is obtained by burning candle-nut in a confined space so that all the soot is collected. The ocher is found only in the island of Komo; it is moistened, kneeded into a mass and dried. It is used by the Komo people as their manufactured produce (*i yau*). When required for use the block is scraped. The stencils are cut out of banana or *Pandanus* leaves laid on the piece of cloth to be ornamented. A small pad of bark cloth is dipped in the dye, dabbed first on the lamp black, then on the red ocher to thicken the stuff, then rubbed on the stencil, which is applied to the cloth.

531 The patterns consist of designs in rows separated by lines varying in number which are called frames (*i wanggani*); frames appropriate to various patterns are named for them. These frames are stencilled on first, and as there is a certain order of patterns so there must be a certain order of frames. (See Pl. IV, *A*.)

In Plate IV, *B* is shown a piece of tapa with the frames filled in.

Many patterns are formed by placing the same stencil in different positions or by using two stencils. Thus *kamiki* (Pl. IV, *B*, 3 and 11) appears first as two parallel lines; the same stencil is then laid crosswise, thus cutting up the lines into two rows of squares. Then another stencil plate is taken with a plain isosceles rectangular triangle, and is used to blot out half of each square (Pl. IV, *C*). The *sivo* is produced with one long isosceles triangle and one small square.

Certain rules are followed: the "frame of the hatching" (*mbika*) and "dripping water" cannot be interchanged; the Tahitian may not be on the outside, nor Kalinisei's on the inside; *kamiki* has a fixed place. This arrangement is designed as a border for a large sheet of Fijian bark cloth

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

142 Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed
302 by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair
●386 with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark
[824] of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

[145] Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

302 "Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

515 The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara.

but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies[4]

Pregnancy

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a [illegible]-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriate[illegible] occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Bl[illegible] Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

343 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof,
235 also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

Sennit

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*ndua i nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

283 White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about
386 two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black
[824] sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boiling a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola,* and *mbele.* The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours.

Canoes

I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaithake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoko* constructed by the same carpenter.

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, *A*, *B*) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai*, was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete*, were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332).

Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

[824] (1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The inner bark of the *kesawai* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

[438] Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also produced by mixing brown *kesa*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

285 352 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 531 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short [384] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

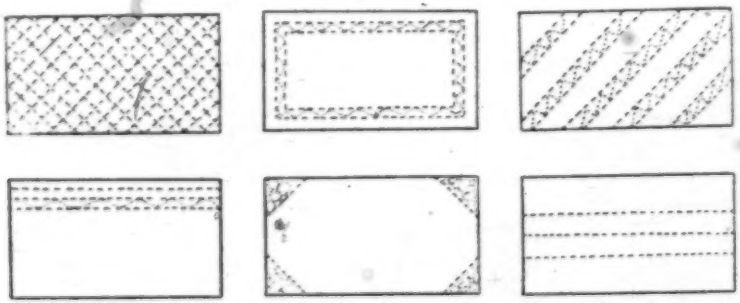

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 [854] According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

[292] Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

[237] Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree (*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do not know why it is done. Four days later the women go fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first 100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse, nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called *kunekune*. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast. Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first pregnancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth, both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise